

not extend it, they declared war. Wherever slavery exists, there secession is rampant. Where slavery has died out, as in the border States, secession has but a puny vitality. Where there is no slavery, the people to a man are enthusiastically devoted to the Union. Such facts cannot be overlooked."

MEMENTO MORI.

Of all the rumors of incredible atrocities, of foolish outrage, of those worst acts of cowardice that are born of cruelty, and of barbarism that just stops short of cannibalism, to which the expedition of John Brown into Virginia two years ago gave rise, the story that the skin of his son was taken from his body and tanned seemed the most unnatural, and the most improbable, and was, therefore, received with the least attention. Now, however, this positive association—“Are not these the United States a land of common schools and churches, and not this the nineteenth century of the Christian era?”—was the instinctive response which we all made to a statement so revolting to the spirit and culture of our time, our country, and our race. But read this letter from a General in the United States army, now serving in Virginia, to a friend in this city—a witness on this point as impartial as he is distinguished:—

“CAMP AT —, VIRGINIA, Oct. 5, 1861.
To show the refinement of Virginia gentlemen, I inclose to my friend, the Rev. Mr. Martin, President, New York University, a piece of the skin of a high (indeed by those gentlemen) of the son of John Brown, who was killed at Harper’s Ferry.

This is a fragment of the skin which, thus prepared, was distributed in pieces over the Southern country, and was presented to my present Aid in Richmond last April by a Captain Smith, of the Confederate States army, a member of the cabinet who has the skeleton of a dog and flogged the skin.

My Aid informs me that every preparation was made to treat the remains of John Brown in the same way, by having them thrown from the car before reaching Baltimore, and substituting a false coffin; but that the plan was defeated by the sickness or flinching of the railroad conductor.

Brigadier General.”

Professor Martin has shown us this bit of the human remains prepared by some skillful taxidermist in Virginia. It is a minute portion only, though there are many superficial inches of cuticle on the body of a man of ordinary size, the number of persons in Virginia who covet a bit of so precious a relic was very many. A ruder barbarian carries the scalp of a slain enemy at the girdle, makes a drinking-cup of his whitened skull, or strings the teeth and finger bones in an engaging necklace; but Jason Brown was not the prize of the bow and the spear of any single warrior; a whole Commonwealth claimed him as its own. More savages, if they use the human tissue of the slaughtered for all at, can only eat it in a wasteful way of such precious material. Science seems them in Virginia to refine upon this barbaric extravagance. Learned professors, skilful in the arts, lend their knowledge to the public service, and feed the patriotism of the State with bits of epidemic, imperishably prepared, of the dead, to be worn as amulets and mementoes to keep ever green the memory of a sweet revenge, and the duty of a citizen to a Christian State. They may laugh in Virginia at the untutored ignorance of the savage who can only rattle the dried scalps and bones of those he has slaughtered, while they point to the curiously tanned skin of their dead enemy as the evidence of the march of civilization and refinement in that ancient and proud Commonwealth.—*Tribune*.

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

The following is an extract from a letter from a gentleman of the highest respectability in Illinois, to his friend in this city, dated Oct. 26:—

“Yes, my dear Sir, we live too near the borders of Missouri not to feel intensely excited by the scenes that are being enacted in that State. Secession and rebellion are rampant on the very borders of Illinois. The newspapers have informed you of the undermining of a railroad bridge by the rebels, by which scores of men, women, and children were suddenly sent into eternity, and great numbers, who were not killed outright, were maimed for life. Some equally brutal, though not so destructive, by wholesale, of human life, is every day perpetrated by the ‘Secesh’ of Missouri. A more cowardly set of savages does not exist.

“You can hardly realize the ferocity with which slavery inspires the owner of a negro or two. Even woman, when she owns a slave, or one is owned in the family, seems, in many instances, to have cast aside her feminine nature, and to have become savage. A woman of wealth, the owner of quite a number of slaves, when a band of Cherokee Indians, a few months ago, came to the south of Missouri, where she lives, to join the secession army, under McCulloch of Texas, that woman, or rather fiend, publicly offered the Indians a large reward if they would bring her ‘Yankee free-soil’ scalps enough to make a counterpane for her bed. There is no mistake about it.

“The same ferocity exists wherever slavery is found. Last June, a beautiful and accomplished girl, a native of Western New York, employed as a teacher in New Orleans, was dragged, on Sunday morning, to Jackson Square, and placed in *ad nudata naturae*, in the presence of many hundreds of spectators, including scores of well-dressed women. To the latter, the poor girl made a heart-rending appeal, that they would save her sex from such an outrage. But they replied on the instant that they would, by carrying them clean over to the side of freedom, they would, in that case, have themselves to bear the responsibility of their conduct far more comfortable than it can possibly be in their miserable fluctuations between the two.

“I need not extend my argument, and I must not further tax your patience. The one thing which the people of the North need to do (and I would that the people in this crowded house might set the influential example of doing it), is to call on the Government (as it would do by passing the resolution I have read), to give up forthwith its merely fighting policy, and substitute for it the purpose of conquest—a purpose, moreover, so earnest as shall command the employment of whatever muscles or means may be needed to achieve the conquest. If the Government shall come to be animated by such a purpose, it will not more decline the help of a man for his being red or black, than for his being white; and it will then stop no expense either to slavery or Constitution. No Democrat, however pro-slavery, and whether living or dead, has written or spoken so much for the Constitution, and for the Government in such a matter as is immense weight emphatically declares:—

“I lay this down as the law of nations: *I say that the majority rules for the time, the place, all the municipal institutions, all the states, &c., &c.* Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.”

But he does not stop here. He is unequivocally declares:—

“From the instant that your slaveholding States become the slaves of your civil, military, foreign, financial, &c., &c., powers, Congress is entitled to interfere with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indecency for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State bordered with slavery to a foreign power.”

“In every way in which it can be interfered with!” Ample power enough! Though we would not have President Lincoln or Gen. McClellan lose an hour before decreeing the abolition of slavery throughout the South as a military necessity, yet, “other things being equal,” we think such a decree, put forth by Congress, as directly representing THE PEOPLE, would carry with it greater force, and be more vigorously sustained. To doubt the competency of that body to make it, is needlessly to embarrass action, and to prevent a decisive expression of public sentiment on the subject. Congress, by the Constitution, has power to declare war; and that power carries with it all the means and measures necessary to give success to the war: the greater includes the less. As well object to the validity of the act of Congress in August last, in confiscating certain kinds of rebel property, as to most such a question concerning slave property. Some persons may prefer a different form of petition: if so, let them not fail to write and sign it, the object to be effected being the same—namely, the total abolition of slavery. The act will not only be legal, and one of self-preservation on the part of the government, but in the highest degree beneficent and glorious. With a free South and a free North, the Union will be perfect and indestructible.

“It is true that I am an Abolitionist; and as I seem to have been born as well as bred one, it would be quite idle to deny that I am one. But for months the state of the public mind has not been such as would encourage me to speak or write as an Abolitionist. Until my countrymen shall be willing to save themselves, I shall have no hope that they can be saved. I confess that, when the war began, I thought it would be a short one. I was so simple as to assume that the Government was already, quickly would be, and, not merely to fight the rebels, to conquer them. I took it for granted that the Government would be rational; and would no more suffer the Constitution than any other paper to stand in its way—slavery property no more than any other property. Very soon, however, I began to learn my great mistake—for very soon the Government, instead of moving its irresistible might against the foe, and doing so with or without Constitution—carrying it by its side or trampling it under foot, as might seem most expedient—was found worshipping and inculcating the worship of the Constitution, and tying up with its provisions the hands of both Government and people. Very soon, too, the Government was infatuated enough to decline the help of men because they were Indians or negroes. Very soon, too, our army was employed in the suicidal and satanic work of seizing innocent men, calling them slaves, and sending them into slavery. This violation of the Constitution was, of course, with the consent, if not with the express direction of the President—of him whose concern for the Constitution is not at all in the interest of the pro-slavery, but only the anti-slavery. Very soon, too, our army began to “aid and comfort” the rebels by promising to protect them from servile insurrections. These errors and these crimes were heavy blows at my heart. But as yet I was able to cheer it up with the hope that though so enormous, they, nevertheless, pro-

ceeded from the bad habits rather than from the bad intents of the country—from inconsideration of their flagrant character, rather than from pleasure in it—and would therefore soon be corrected. Then, too, my conscience began to revolt at my identifying myself, voice, pen and purse, with such a war. But as yet I was able to pacify it with arguments that the Government would soon cease to repeat its crimes and follies multiplied. Moreover, Congress did but little better than the Cabinet. Its Act of Confiscation, as we have already seen, ridiculously and madly saves to the rebels the greatest amount of their property and means for carrying on the war. I do not say that our Congress was, at its extra session, in the pay of the rebels. It was—not for it was, with the exception of the traitors—but upon those who are guilty of it! For more than may, as said Paul, “night and day and with tears” was the rapid approach of this time of violence and distress. But hitherto they would not hear me; and they probably will not hear me now. Nevertheless, I cannot restrain myself from saying that our beloved country will surely perish, if the present policy of her rulers shall be persisted in.

At the conclusion of his address, (which may be found entire in the *Tribune* of Nov. 9th,) Mr. Smith offered the following resolution, which was adopted by the great assembly, only two or three dissenting:—

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting, our beloved country will surely perish if her rulers shall persist in recognizing the right of the rebels to any of their possessions; or shall persist in scorning the efforts of the Government to end the rebellion; or shall not be intent to strengthen the country and cripple the enemy in all possible ways, and at whatever expense to usages and systems, statutes and constitutions, and at whatever frequent substitution of the sure, swift, summary, sweeping processes of martial law, for the tardy, uncertain, and inadequate steps of civil law.

I said that we may wish more than half the battles, and appear to ourselves to be on the eve of success. But this would not be likely to make our worse—and especially should it take place soon. For while this would make us more haughty than ever, more contemptuous of the blacks than ever, and more disposed to push them away from us than ever; it would be likely on the other hand, by alarming the South, to drive her to court the blacks, and bring them, by freeing them, into a close and irresistible union with herself. Yes, just now, defeats might be better for us than victories; for they might make us willing to accept the help of black men before it is too late.

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NOVEMBER 15.

THE LIBERATOR.

excited by such a step in all the seceded States—the Proclamation has not been issued.

Worse yet. Even inaction upon this momentous subject, criminal as that is, has not been the only fault of the President. He sets himself in active opposition to movements against slavery made by his subordinate officers. General Butler took a step in this direction which acted most beneficially for the Government and against the enemy, and then, expressing his earnest wish to go further on the same road, he demanded "instructions" from the Government. The Government threw cold water upon him. General Fremont acted with yet more vigor in the same direction. The Government removed him! In what possible way, except by disbanding the whole army, could the Government have given so much "aid" and comfort to the enemy?

Again. A popular Administration would naturally be well inclined to movements actively favored by the people. Now, nothing is more certain than that a shout of enthusiasm, all over the North, followed first the movement of General Butler, and next that of General Fremont. Such a spirit, both in the army and in the people, is one of the most indispensable requisites to success in war. An ebbing of these voices of freedom, a turning of other divisions of the army into the same line of action, and an open declaration that that was henceforth to be the policy of the Administration, would not only have confused, disconcerted and dismayed the enemy more than any other act whatever, but it would have brought this immense enthusiasm of the loyal North in support of the Government, and would unspeakably have quickened and strengthened the men and women of the free States for the further labors and sacrifices required of them. What can have influenced the President to refuse doing something which would bear with immense force, at once against the enemy, in favor of the loyal army and people, and in favor of an ultimate settlement of our difficulties upon the right basis? What private and personal considerations sufficed to make the new President of the Republican party take, in the very most important function of his office, a position so nearly akin to that taken by the late traitorous President of the sham democracy?

Whatever these malign influences may be—and several unworthy and discreditable ones have been openly mentioned as those actually controlling President Lincoln—it is certain that he has committed himself to a policy which, favoring slavery by letting it alone, is most injurious to our present struggle, and most disastrous to the ultimate settlement of our difficulties. What to do?

The next thing in order, to be done, is to try the influence of the people's expressed voice upon this unfaithful public servant. Let all who can speak urge in the primary meetings of the people the vast importance of selecting candidates, and adopting measures, in favor of universal freedom, and in active and direct opposition to slavery. Let all who can write express these ideas in those organs of the periodical press to which they have access. And let the whole people, men and women, interest themselves in signing, circulating, advocating and forwarding the petitions to Congress now passing through the community upon this subject. Never was activity in faithful labor more needed than at this moment.—C. W. W.

SOLD! SOLD!! SOLD!!!

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.), Nov. 6, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: My heart sickens and my spirit faints, as I view what seems to me a deep-laid scheme, on the part of some in power, to sell out the North to the South—the cause of freedom and free institutions to slavery and slave institutions. The policy of the Federal Government, the past six months, indicates a fixed purpose to yield to all the demands of the slaveholders, and reconstruct the Union, if the people allow it, on a more inhuman and God-defying foundation than ever before.

Why have the Administration and the Federal Generals uniformly shown so much more regard to the lives and property of the rebels than of the loyal people of the North? Why have so many rebels been retained in Federal offices in Washington? Why have so many slaveholders and sons of slaveholders been placed in command over Federal troops and ships? Over one-half of the vessels and gunboats, designed to act against the rebels, are controlled by men whose sympathies are with the rebels? Why was Fremont's Proclamation so readily annulled?

Why was Gen. Thomas' loose, mere hearsay, and evidently malignant report, allowed so quickly, and without a hearing on his part, followed the annulling of his Proclamation? Why has the Administration interfered to protect the property of rebels in the North, and looked on with indifference, while hundreds of millions of property of loyal citizens are confiscated in the South? Why has the effort to capture and punish the Southern privates and pirates been so utterly ineffectual? Why was nothing done to follow up the victory at Hatteras, by an onset upon North Carolina? Why the mission of Thurlow Weed and Bishop Hughes to Europe, in company with Gen. Scott—all at the same time with Mason and Sibley from the slave confederacy? Why such leniency to Gen. Patterson and Gen. Stone, and such severity to Fremont? Can it be, that all these things are but the antecedents of another and a more internal and degrading submission to the Slave Power? We shall know by the 1st of January, 1862. If I mistake not, Congress and the Cabinet, within six weeks, will have an explosion; for, surely, Congress, direct from the people, will not dare to attempt another compromise with slaveholders.

The word is to be feared. I would the Government could be saved to freedom; but we must and ought to sink into a grave of contempt and infamy, if it shall attempt again to bring the people of the North into a degrading and loathsome complicity with slave-breeding and slave-hunting, from which slaveholding rebellion had released them. Will the people submit to the old "COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AGREEMENT WITH HELL," which they have been fully re-layed by?

But, I see the abolition of slavery in it all. I would the Government might stand as the bulwarks of liberty to all; but whether it does or not, SLAVERY MUST DIE.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

DISSOLUTION OR ABOLITION, THE ONLY ISSUE PRESENTED BY THE TRAITORS.

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.), Nov. 5, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON: I came here last evening, among the mountains of Pennsylvania. I came through several important inland towns of New York. Day before yesterday was the State election in New York State. In the valleys of the Chenango and the Susquehanna, the majority for Union and against the Slave Power was very large and emphatic. Daniel S. Dickinson, in the place of his residence, (Binghamton,) had over 1100 votes out of 1300, and that after all his strong and stirring utterances. His nomination was for State Attorney.

It is marvelous the change that is going on among the people respecting Abolition. Scarcely one is found to entertain the idea of Dissolution, in preference to Abolition. The one idea of Abolitionists has been, for nearly thirty years, Dissolution before the propagation and perpetuity of slavery. But the South has presented to the North another and a far different issue.

Dissolution or Abolition? With one voice the South say, We dissolve the Union to sustain slavery. With equal unanimity the North says, or is fast coming to say—Abolish slavery to save the Union. This has been the one unanimous call of Abolitionists for thirty years—Abolish slavery to preserve and perpetuate the Union! This conviction we, as Abolitionists, have aimed to instill into the minds of all—the government, the nation, the Union must perish, or slavery be abolished. The two cannot exist together. Slav-

e

very or the Union must die. Let this conviction settle upon the mind of the North. This is the testiment of the States now in rebellion. They seek to destroy the nation, because they deem its existence is opposed to slavery. This is the opinion of Abraham Lincoln, Wm. H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase. It is coming to be the earnest and unshaken conviction of the masses everywhere. The government, the Union, the Republic must be blotted from the map of the world, or slavery must be wiped out. Oh for a thousand lecturers of iron nerves, and stern granite hearts, and untiring zeal, to go all over the North, to deepen, mature, and make available this one grand issue forced upon the North by the South! Dissolution!

A few say, (Ex-Governor Seymour of New York being one,) Dissolve the Union rather than touch or abolish slavery; but nine out of ten say—Let slavery perish, but save the Union. The South hates the Union, because, as they think, its tendency is to destroy slavery. God grant the human flesh-mongers may never think otherwise, till the entire North is compelled to accept the issue! for the moment they do accept that issue, and act accordingly, that moment victory will perch upon their banner, and not before.

Governments are established to protect liberty, not slavery; and the moment they cease to protect liberty, and sustain slavery, "it is the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish them." While the Union meant slavery, God and the Constitution required us to seek to alter or abolish it. Now that it means freedom, (as the slave-feeding tyrants assert,) it is our sacred right and duty to sustain it, so far as the question of liberty or slavery is concerned. No matter what the North says in the premises; the slaveholders declare that the Federal Government is the deadly enemy of slavery, and that slavery can be sustained only on its ruins. Hence, in their view, every man who sustains slavery is an Abolitionist. No disavowal of Republicans or Democrats can ever alter that conviction. The South has treated and will treat every man who says one word or fires a gun in support of the Union and the Constitution, as an Abolitionist, and hang him as such. God grant them grace to stick to this conviction, and to treat every Northern man and woman as a deadly enemy to slavery, until in deed and in truth they do all become Abolitionists! Every man who opposes the rebels, and seeks to crush rebellion and save the government, must fight against Slavery—must fight for Abolition—whether he will or no.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLITION—ONE AND INSEPARABLE! This is the assured and settled conviction of the rebel States and individuals. This is the only construction of the Constitution now admissible at the South. God help them to persevere in that belief, and be true to it! The rebels seek its destruction because it means Abolition. Is the North seeking to crush the rebels because they say it means Abolition? The rebels, one and all, seek to dissolve the Union, because, as they say, it is opposed to slavery. Does the North seek to crush rebellion because the rebels say the government is opposed to slavery?

The South will fight and will prevail until the North accepts the issue presented by them, and supports the Union because it opposes slavery, and as a means of Abolition. The moment the North is prepared to lay her all on the altar of the Union and Constitution because they mean Abolition, that moment, and never before, will victory crown her efforts. So long as the North is so mean, so craven, so dastardly, and so cowed as to be afraid to accept the issue which the South presents, and fight for the government as meaning Abolition—liberty to blacks as well as whites—as meaning that God made all men equally free—her Bull Runns, Edwards Ferries and Lexingtons will be multiplied. She will not deserve victory, and cannot have it. Let the North accept heartily the only issue presented by the South—Dissolution or Abolition—and sustain the government and Union because they mean Abolition, as the rebels say they do, and in three months the war would end. Four millions of slaves would spring to the aid of the North, and the sympathy of the civilized world would cheer them on to triumph.

Yours, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

November 2d, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. — :

"Chill November's sultry blasts" are at last upon us, making "fields and forests bare," and Tuesday comes Election. S. sent me the newspaper with a notice of your nomination for Assembly man, which I most sincerely wish will result in your triumphant election the 5th. I wish this because, now, of all times, we should have men of conscience, men of honorable souls, men who love justice and right more than party compromise and expediency, in the seats of legislation; and I believe you will frankly and fearlessly use your influence and power to advance these great ends of human welfare, rather than become the tool of selfish, ambitious seekers after office and gain, such as it is the melancholy fact too many of our legislators have allowed themselves to be degraded into.

I should rejoice to have our Legislature filled with men of hands to clean to touch bribes, and hearts too high to listen to any claims but such as are really just, and with principles so inflexible that nothing could bend them from maintaining, at every hazard, and at all costs, the equal and unalienable right of every human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as that noble old document reads. Then this next would be the last election in the Empire State when colored men should be prohibited from voting—a violation of natural and civil right so gross and shameful, that every honest man should hang his head at the thought of it. No election comes round that I do not feel indignant that such injustice should be suffered to continue to mar our constitutional law. How can \$250 make a black man worthy of the franchise? Out upon such a patricy reason for any one to interfere with a black man must; though this would be to turn back the civilization of the world. No, this odious distinction of color must come to an end; and the principles of equality for which your honored and "thrice sainted father" so nobly contended in 1820 will ere long prevail. I shall be grievously disappointed if this is not one of the beneficial changes that will be called upon to uphold in our Assembly the coming winter.

Closely allied to this question is, whether colored men shall not be enrolled among the militia for the common defence of the State. Why should Irishmen, Frenchmen, Scotchmen, Italians, Austrians, Germans and Spaniards all have welcome, and admission into the army, when these native-born, loyal colored Americans should alone be excluded? It seems outrageous in the Government, either State or National, to refuse the arms and aid of these forty thousand free colored men in the North who offer them, so eagerly entreating to be allowed to assist in this mighty struggle against rebellion and despotism now going on in the land, to say nothing of the faithfulness that might be secured in the more than half million slaves capable of bearing arms. It is pitiful to see such professed means to carry on the war repulsed, while the flower of our young men are falling into soldiers' graves—such as the many, enthusiastic Ellsworth, the brave and accomplished Winthrop, the young Lieut. Putnam, of such fine promise, the heroic Lyon, and so many others whom the country mourns.

It is disgraceful to Massachusetts to keep back colored troops, who have disciplined themselves, while her educated young men, fresh from the culture of Harvard College, are shot down or wounded so terribly, as in this late murderous battle at Edward's Ferry. Among these, as you see by the papers, was Lieut. Oliver Wendell Holmes (Jr.), son of O. W. Holmes, two wounds in his body. He was a friend and classmate of our young friend Wendell Phillips Garrison,

with whom we used to see him at meetings and lectures in Boston.

Into what gigantic proportions the war has grown since we were with you last April and May!

And how worse than useless will be all this costly sacrifice of blood and treasure, if Freedom does not come out of the conflict safe, and more secure than ever before!

I hope you have read Mr. Sumner's speech at the Republican State Convention at Worcester, the 1st of October. He says, so boldly, speaking from his highest impulse as a man, and without taking the timid counsel of politicians—"It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war." And a fortnight later he said in Boston, "Let every mother whose son has watered with his generous life-blood the battle-field, remember it was slavery that has taken at once his life and her peace."

These are the sentiments and convictions that must be in the public mind till State Legislatures and Cabinet and Presidents shall unite in advising and decreasing the righteous end of Universal Emancipation, which is the only solution of our troubles that can bring us the favor of Heaven.

All this good work, I cannot doubt, it will be your joy and happiness to promote, whether you serve the State at Albany this winter, which I earnestly hope and trust you will, or labor as a citizen in word and deed anywhere else.

Pardon so long and imperfect a letter; but I could not think of this election coming on without expressing my interest that a faithful, frank and high-souled representative like yourself should be secured to the important legislation demanded by the great interests of Liberty and Justice in this hour of peril, and also of their hope.

Very sincerely,

SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER.

HAVERHILL, (Mass.) Nov. 5, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

I feel very much obliged for the "first-rate notice" you give me in relation to the printing of my "Extracts," containing the speech of Hon. Charles Sumner. I have already published two editions of a thousand, and scattered them broadcast, at home and abroad—to a considerable extent in the army, as I have had opportunity. I never engaged in a work more heartily, and the "material aid and comfort" I have received from two of the leading and generous-hearted Abolitionists of this State (of either sex) has induced me to issue a third edition, enlarged and improved. My intention is to give a correct abstract of the speech or address of Mr. Sumner, which he delivered in this town last Friday evening, to a brilliant and enthusiastic audience of ladies and gentlemen, who were perfectly entranced by his masterly eloquence; and in addition, I design to give apt and timely quotations from George Washington, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, Dr. Channing, Dr. Cheever, the poet Whittier, and others; my object being to fortify Mr. Sumner in the godlike position he has taken, and to deepen the "sacred animosity" of all good men, women and youth against the "sum of all villainies," so that, as far as I can, I may create a feeling which shall aid in rendering it impossible ever to reinstate the Union, or make it of any "binding force," except in the utter extermination of the Satanic institution of slavery. The recent utterances of Mr. Sumner, as also yours and Mr. Phillips', have aroused in me an unconquerable spirit and an indefatigable energy, which have never possessed me before with such intensity, and I shall obtain all the means I honestly can, and pursue my course to the best of my ability.

The rebels, one and all, seek to dissolve the Union, because, as they say, it is opposed to slavery. Does the North seek to crush rebellion because the rebels say the government is opposed to slavery?

The South will fight and will prevail until the North accepts the issue presented by them, and supports the Union because it opposes slavery, and as a means of Abolition.

The moment the North is prepared to lay her all on the altar of the Union and Constitution because they mean Abolition, that moment, and never before, will victory crown her efforts.

So long as the North is so mean, so craven, so dastardly, and so cowed as to be afraid to accept the issue which the South presents, and fight for the government as meaning Abolition—liberty to blacks as well as whites—as meaning that God made all men equally free—her Bull Runns, Edwards Ferries and Lexingtons will be multiplied. She will not deserve victory, and cannot have it.

Let the North accept heartily the only issue presented by the South—Dissolution or Abolition—and sustain the government and Union because they mean Abolition, as the rebels say they do, and in three months the war would end. Four millions of slaves would spring to the aid of the North, and the sympathy of the civilized world would cheer them on to triumph.

With a thorough circulation of the Emancipation Petition, it seems to me we might obtain an overwhelming majority of the people of this State to endorse it; and with such endorsement, and the presentation it would get from the hands of Mr. Sumner, I am sure he will be successful.

Mr. George W. Garrison, you have done nobly in this cause. Some of your articles have stirred me up like a trumpet. May the God of heaven inspire your voice and pen to "eternal vigilance," and let us all pray and work unceasingly, until liberty is proclaimed to all men!

Respectfully yours, GEORGE K. RADCLIFFE.

N. B. Any person disposed to contribute to my third edition, to any extent whatever, may address me at Haverhill, Mass. We will supply orders for the new edition at the rate of three cents a piece; ten copies for twenty-five cents, and the same, in proportion, for any larger number. Donations, however large or small, will be acceptable, and faithfully appropriated in circulating "the truth forcibly spoken."

COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL EXPEDITION—CAPTURE OF BEAUFORT.

November 2d, 1861.

OUR STEAMERS lost in the Gale—The Rebels fled, leaving everything behind—Captured Cannon, Flags, &c.

FORTESS MONROE, Nov. 12. The steamer Blenheim has just arrived at Old Point from the great expedition. She left Port Royal on Sunday morning, and the Isaac T. Hopper succeeded in saving all her crew, with the exception of a few names.

The fleet arrived at Port Royal on Monday the 4th.

Both forts responded vigorously. The Pawnee and Mohican for the time being, having got around, were considerably damaged.

The bombardment lasted between four and five hours, when the rebels fled.

The rebel loss is supposed to be 200.

Gen. Dayton arrived at Fort Walker, and Col. Eliot at Fort Beauregard.

The rebels retired across Skell Creek to a village, 25 miles in the interior, where they have got into the enemy's country, or, scattered it hopelessly to the winds.

The rebels had fled to Charleston, as the fleet came around, with the exception of a few names.

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Poetry.

For the Liberator.
IS THERE HOPE?

When I ponder in secret communion
With my conscience that pleads for the right,
I ask not, is there hope for the "Union,"
That hath trampled on man in its might?

Alb., no! let the Union perish,
If it serves but to rivet the chain:
If the hopes that Humanity cherish
Must bear disappointment again!

After all War's confusion and terror,
Oh God! must the slave suffer long?
Shall the Truth never triumph o'er Error?
Shall the Right never triumph o'er Wrong?

Is there hope for a brother now pleading
The wreck of his manhood to save?
Is there hope for the scourged and the bleeding?
Is there hope for the down-trodden slave?

RICHARD HINCHCLIFFE.

Andover, Mass., Nov. 6.

LINES ON A PICTURE.

Yes, there he is—just where the glorious boy
Touched the top of manhood's earliest prime,
Yet we see more than youth's exuberant joy;
Here's the awakening spirit of the time.
Not seventy-six, but sixty-one—to be
The birth-place of a higher chivalry
Than those first days when Freedom's clarion bold
Arouse the Western world, and shock the Old.
Look at the promise, in those youthful eyes,
Of thoughtful daring, and of high enterprise!
How grand! As if it were some prophet's scroll,
That foreshows the volume of the soul.
But what is best—the future here we read
By the strong light of valor's maiden deed.
That eye hath seen the battle's fearful strife—
The fiery baptism of the warrior's life—
The crimson field of glory's agony,
Th' heroic strife, the maddening ecstasy;
The bloody moil, for loyal rights begun,
Beneath the sweetness of a Sabbath sun.
Ah! who the surging of the soul can tell,
When dead and wounded comrades round the fell?
They who did follow, left a heart so brave,
Thy only thought was victory or a grave.
Oh, reverence the Hand that turned away
The messengers of death from thee that day;
Give Him th' imperilled heart that would have died,
Had He not borne thee o'er the battle's tide.

Our cause asks purest light from men,
To pierce the tempest night round Slavery's den;
The very flashing of whose sword should be
The day-spring of a perfect liberty;
And in its rising force the battle's thunder
Live freedom from dead slavery should shudder:
No carnal weapons these—serenely bold,
Mighty through God to take the giant's hold.

Oh! when the flowered rod blooms over me,
May the dear lad, whose semblance here I see,
Ripened in form and soul to manly grace,
Redeem the early promise of that face;
Worthy in life's best conflict to engage,
And lead th' advancing spirit of the age!

Newport, R. I.

From Chamber's Journal.

COMING HOME.

O, brothers and sisters, growing old,
Do you all remember yet
That hour, in the shade of the rustling trees,
Where once in our household met?

Do you know how we used to come from school,
Through the summer's pleasant heat,
With the yellow fennel's golden dust
On our tired little feet?

Till warned by the deepening shadows' fall,
That told of the coming night,
We climbed to the top of the last, long hill,
And saw our home in sight?

And, brothers and sisters, older now
Than she who's life is over,
Do you think of the mother's loving face,
That looked from the open door?

Alas, for the changing things of time,
That home in the dust is low;
And that loving smile was hid from us,
In the darkness, long ago!

And we have come to life's last hill,
From which our weary eyes
Can almost look on that home that shines
Eternal in the skies.

So, brothers and sisters, as we go,
Still let us move as one,
Always together keeping step,
Till the march of life is done!

For that mother, who waited for us here,
Wearing a smile so sweet,
Now waits on the hills of paradise
For her children's coming feet!

PHOESE CARY.

THE HEART'S GUESTS.

When age has cast its shadows
Over life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers
Round our departing day—

Then we shall sit and ponder
On the dim and shadowy past;
Within the heart's still chamber
The guests will gather fast.

How shall it be, my sisters?
Who, then, shall be our guests?

How shall it be, my brothers,
When life's shadow on us rests?

Shall we not, 'midst the silence,
In accents soft and low,
Then hear familiar voices,
And words of long ago?

Shall we not see dear faces
Sweet smiling as of old,
Till the mists of that dark chamber
Are sunless clouds of gold?

When age has cast its shadows
Over life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers
Round our departing day?

THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

BY WILLIAM E. FOWLE.

Restore the Fugitive! Ay, when
The Son of God descends again,
And bids me never more to do
As I would fain be done unto.

Restore the Fugitive! I will
When God's own voice in man is still,
And wrong is right by God's decree,
And light and air no longer free.

Restore the Fugitive! No, never
While I've a home, a shelter, where
The persecuted one may hide,
Castle or grave, and side by side.

Restore the Fugitive! The law
Is like the cords that Samson wore,
And nature, were each chain a chain,
Would snap a thousand such in twain.

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

"COMPENSATION."

WHO ARE THE INFIDELS? NO. I.

By the late Rev. J. P. Fessenden, of S. Bridgeton, Me.

It seems to me that no word, as applied to men in these latter days, is more grossly perverted than is the word "infidel." It is generally considered a term of reproach, and is therefore frequently used for the purpose of injuring or destroying the character and influence of the persons to whom it is applied. Let any one be openly accused of infidelity, and the public do not stop to inquire what is meant by the accusation; or whether it is well-founded or not; or by what motives, or with what designs, those who make it are actuated. Without hesitation they take it for granted that the accused is a scoffer at all religion, is a person of bad principles and bad morals, and should be shunned as an enemy of his race and a dangerous member of society. They consider it wicked to give him even a hearing in explanation of his sentiments, or of the reasons which have induced him to embrace them. He is prejudged and condemned upon a mere rumor, and often a calumnious one. If the public are rightly informed in respect to the reckless and improper manner in which the charge of infidelity is often brought against some of the most self-denying philanthropists and reformers, and most estimable men and women in the country, it would cease to be, in their estimation, a term of reproach; but they would rather consider it greatly to their credit that they are infidels to some of the unscriptural opinions and sinful practices which have gained a fearful and wide-spread currency in the church and the nation.

Let us see, for a moment, how the word infidel is extensively used and applied, and what alone, in truth, is meant by it, as thus used and applied. Mohammedans call Christians infidels, because they do not believe in the Mohammedan religion; in Mohammed as the prophet of God; in the Koran as an inspired book; or in the rites of Mohammedanism as in accordance with the divine will. Christians call Mohammedans infidels, because they do not believe in Jesus Christ as the only Savior, in our Bible as a revelation from Heaven, and the only infallible rule of faith and morals; and in the rites and practices of the Christian church. The term infidel is applied by Catholics to Protestants, because they do not believe in the Pope as God's vicegerent upon earth; in the Catholic church as the true and only church of Christ, without the pale of which salvation for any one is impossible. And Protestants apply it to the Catholics, because they exalt the Pope into the place of the Savior, pervert the Scriptures, and are guilty of the most gross superstitions and idolatries. And various Protestant sects accuse each other of infidelity, because one differs from another in its views of the character of God and the Savior, and of the Bible and its teachings. Thus Orthodox Christians often call Universalists and Unitarians infidels, because the former believe that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, and the latter deny that they teach the doctrines of total depravity, the trinity, the supreme divinity and vicarious atonement of our Savior, and the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. And there is doubtless among evangelical Christians a great discrepancy in their views concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Christian Sabbath, and the church and ministry as at present constituted, and in respect to many other doctrines and duties of Christianity. Some believe in what is called the plenary inspiration of the Bible; that every sentence, word, syllable and letter, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation, is inspired by the Spirit of God. Others do not so believe. Some hold that the Christian takes the place of the Jewish Sabbath by *Divine appointment*. Others dissent from this opinion. Some maintain that the evangelical ministry, and church in its various branches, are *institutions of God*, and, as such, ought to be respected and revered. Others do not so regard them. And if these evangelical Christians were as liberal in applying the term infidel to each other on account of differences of opinion in respect to the subject of religion, as they are in applying it to those who dissent from their creed, infidels in great numbers would always be found in their own ranks. Indeed, if the word, as now generally used, is properly applied, I see not how any mortal in all Christendom can plead not guilty to the charge of being an infidel; for I very much doubt whether, on examination, there can be found any two persons whose views exactly coincide in every particular in regard to God and the Savior, the inspiration of the Bible, the Sabbath, or, in fact, any of the doctrines and precepts of revelation. If two such persons are nowhere to be found, then each one must be, in respect to some points of religious faith, an unbeliever, in regard to which the other is a believer, and each one is, therefore, in reference to the other, an infidel. As the word infidel is now commonly used, all that can be meant by it, in truth, is that the person to whom it is applied is an *unbeliever* in respect to some of the dogmas which are generally held by those who are denominational evangelical Christians. He does not believe as they profess to believe, it may be, in reference to the plenary inspiration of the Bible, the Christian Sabbath, some of the doctrines and duties of revelation, and the divine institution of the ministry and church as they now exist in the world. They will not suffer the destruction of all property, and pour out our blood to any extent; but this more than sacrifice, this final and most blasphemous blow at the sacred rights of man, no policy can justify, no immediate well-being can compensate for it. Rather let us all go into slavery, or die nobly in the cause of truth and liberty.

THEODORE PARKER.

REV. H. A. KEACH.

OLD MAJOR, THE NOBLE HORSE.

BY JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

From my boyhood days, I have been an admirer of fine horses. I learned that speaking in a low, confidential tone, and uniformly treating this noble animal with kindness, he may be trained to be a truly companion. Well do I remember the beautiful colt my father gave me, and how I grieved when it was found dead one frosty morning. When I became a man, and commenced the world in poverty, and had to sell my handsome filly, in order to make a payment on the first forty acres of wild land I ever owned, I felt no little regret. Whether it happened that I obtained a superior class of colts, or whether the training had something to do with it, I will not say; but, certain it is, that, during the half century of my life, I have reason to remember a good number of horses that were remarkable for their tractability and intelligence. Of the coal black Nancy, Charley, and Bob, I will say nothing at present, but confess that the slaveholder, it acknowledges, necessarily acknowledges, the "right of property in man," for it "remunerates" in consideration of taking away this property. This "right of property in man" was what the framers of the Constitution dared not admit into the instrument. It is an act which will forever tell against the integrity of the nation, and almost infinitely demoralize us. We must not allow it for the world; we can suffer the destruction of all property, and pour out our blood to any extent; but this more than sacrifice, this final and most blasphemous blow at the sacred rights of man, no policy can justify, no immediate well-being can compensate for it. Rather let us all go into slavery, or die nobly in the cause of truth and liberty.

J. H. FOWLER.

A DISAPPOINTMENT.

Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR SIR—In the early stages of the Anti-Slavery cause, away up here in Vermont, we had many white-washed clerical hypocrites, who refused to give an anti-slavery notice on the Sabbath, because "there are six days in which men ought to work"; and the grinding under the iron heel of slavery of a few millions of heathen, in our own country, was a matter of too little importance to disturb the worshippers, many of whom, like themselves, might be suspected of abolitionism at the mere mention of slavery; while, on the same day, they had no hesitation in begging a penny here and a penny there, of any laborers, male and female, to pay the expenses of agents to circumscribe the globe in search of objects of charity less needy than those at their own doors, in their own country. But it is so long since we have heard of such a case, that we really supposed that all the Scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites were either dead or run away. But in this we find ourselves mistaken. The Rev. Mr. Chickering, of the Congregational church in this place, refused to read a notice of an address by Mr. Foss on slavery and the war; so that we failed to extend the notice beyond that given by the Methodist clergyman in the same village. A large audience, however, collected at the town hall, and no lecturer appearing, Mr. Ingham, one of our thorough Abolitionists, read the discourse of the Rev. Dr. Brisbane, found in the last *Liberator*. Although we were much mortified at the non-appearance of the lecturer, our disappointment is more than half made up, by unveiling the hypocrisy of one who has palmed himself off as an anti-slavery man, as most of his church and congregation are called to.

Springfield, (Vt.) Oct. 30, 1861.

J. S.

P. S. It now appears, by a letter from Mr. Foss, that he had no notice of the meeting.

The complaint against Gen. Fremont that he was inaccessible, is now preferred by scores of place and curiosity-mongers against Gen. McClellan. Politicians, contractors, members of Congress and others that they cannot approach Gen. McClellan whenever they please, for if they did he would not an hour left for the public business.

Having been an attentive reader of the *Liberator* for twenty years, perhaps I have had as good an opportunity of learning the Editor's religious sentiments as those who have relied on common rumor in forming their opinions concerning them.

HOW TO THINK, WRITE, AND SPEAK WELL.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER.—Editor of *Banner of Light*:—Enclosed is a copy of a letter from that brave man, Theodore Parker. I believe it has never before appeared in print. He addresses me as a minister, but the excellent hints are equally useful to an occasional lecture, in which capacity I have acted for many years.

Yours truly, HORACE A. KEACH.

Mapleville, R. I., Aug. 5, 1861.

BROOKLINE, NEAR BOSTON, Sept. 3d, 1851.

DEAR SIR.—You ask how you can acquire an impressive mode of delivery. That will depend on qualities that lie a good deal deeper than the surface. It seems to me to depend on vigorous thinking in the first place, then on clearness of statement in the next place, and finally on a vigorous and natural mode of speech. Vigorous feeling and thinking depend on the original talents a man is born with, and on the education he acquires, and his daily habits. No man can ever be permanently an impressive speaker without first being a man of superior sentiments or superior ideas; but it is a wearisome, supererogatory task to cultivate the feelings and thoughts (feeling and thoughts) of a man. A strong attachment sprang up between him and the boy. When the little fellow was taken by his master and carried to another house, said "Richard, I think thou ought to give the Old Major a kiss before thou leave'st." "I did, sir," he replied, as the tears stood in his eyes. For the last year, we had not been in the habit of hitching him at the meeting-house shed. He would see others going, but uniformly waited until I would give him the word, when he would back out, and turn as skillfully as I had the reins. In the summer of 1860, he fell in the harness. From that time he was under par. The boy he lifted into the manger is now a man, and the faithful animal to nurse. Uncle Joseph and Aunt Ruth were seen driving another horse. Children's voices would be heard, saying "Uncle Joseph, where is Major?" A good old colored man one day remarked, "Ah! I see you have got a new horse, Old Major is sold and gone." I replied "Oh, no! Sammy, Major is sick—he will never be sold!" That evening he was unusually playful, but in the morning was lying dead upon the green sward. When I went to see him, he was absent from home. I saw one of the colored men in his employ, and said, "Nelson, where is old Major?" He replied, "Oh, Mr. Dugdale, Johnny and I would not have him dragged, but marked with a spur around his body, head and feet, and we digging him a grave just the shape of him, and buried him as it had been the custom of his race, raising corn, sugar, and rice in abundance as to make our neighbors envious, but I am not ashamed to say we are not the equals of the white people in wealth, raising cotton, sugar, and rice in the fresh earth under which he laid, our eyes were moistened with tears; and as I thought of all the little boys and girls in the land, I could not but think if they would acquit themselves in their spheres as human beings with a fidelity equal to this noble animal, we should have a purer and better world. Farewell, old Major, should I live until my locks are white as the paper on which I write, while memory retains its unction in my mind, this faithful old friend will not be forgotten.—*Educator and the Museum*.

when the boy who named him was attempting to perform that office, the Major took him deliberately by the pantaloons, and set him in the manger! I have no satisfactory reasons for believing that he was gentle enough that time. It was interesting to see him plowing corn. He seemed to understand that the corn was not to be trodden upon. As he grew older, his self-esteem increased. He became so very dignified, that he did not like to be led, but preferred a motion of the hand to indicate where he was expected to do. I once sent an Irishman to plow corn with him. There would be no dispute among competent judges, that the Major knew better than the Irishman. The boy was taken to the cemetery, and left him standing in the road while she cut the twigs from the young trees. She thought of his remaining where she left him; but, as she passed from tree to tree, he deliberately passed on, stopping when she did, until in an hour the work was completed. Whenever he saw me eating an apple, he expected the core, and I thought it hardly hazardous to get out of the carriage to gratify him. By the way, he sometimes got more than the core, but no matter.

It has been among the joys of my life, within the last seven years, holding conventions for children. Many of the little men and maidens who have been at "Uncle Joseph's" meetings will remember Old Major; for, although circumstances did not admit of his presence in the meeting-house, yet he was always outside, and ready to do his duty. A little emancipated slave taught him to read. A strong attachment sprang up between him and the boy. When the little fellow was taken by his master and carried to another house, said "Richard, I think thou ought to give the Old Major a kiss before thou leave'st." "I did, sir," he replied, as the tears stood in his eyes. For the last year, we had not been in the habit of hitching him at the meeting-house shed. He would see others going, but uniformly waited until I would give him the word, when he would back out, and turn as skillfully as I had the reins. In the summer of 1860, he fell in the harness. From that time he was under par. The boy he lifted into the manger is now a man, and the faithful animal to nurse. Uncle Joseph and Aunt Ruth were seen driving another horse. Children's voices would be heard, saying "Uncle Joseph, where is Major?" A good old colored man one day remarked, "Ah! I see you have got a new horse, Old Major is sold and gone." I replied "Oh, no! Sammy, Major is sick—he will never be sold!" That evening he was unusually playful, but in the morning was lying dead upon the green sward. When I went to see him, he was absent from home. I saw one of the colored men in his employ, and said, "Nelson, where is old Major?" He replied, "Oh, Mr. Dugdale, Johnny and I would not have him dragged, but marked with a spur around his body, head and feet, and we digging him a grave just the shape of him, and buried him as it had been the custom of his race, raising corn, sugar, and rice in abundance as to make our neighbors envious, but I am not ashamed to say we are not the equals of the white people in wealth, raising cotton, sugar, and rice in the fresh earth under which he laid, our eyes were moistened with tears; and as I thought of all the little boys and girls in the land, I could not but think if they would acquit themselves in their spheres as human beings with a fidelity equal to this noble animal, we should have a purer and better world. Farewell, old Major, should I live until my locks are white as the paper on which I write, while memory retains its unction in my mind, this faithful old friend will not be forgotten.—*Educator and the Museum*.

It is really untrue that slavery deserved the overthrow of the Union. It was on the contrary, anti-slavery which began, over thirty years ago, aided by British gold, to conspire against the peace of the United States.

"Slavery—not that slavery"—the chief of the present war! Slavery has been quiet, and in the course of time effectively building up the wealth and greatness of the nation, the *slave states*, and in the end, over the pro-slavery Democracy of the North, as to wealth, raising cotton, sugar, and rice in such abundance as to make our neighbors envious, and now showing for their peculiar institution does not satisfy the malcontents. It is difficult to see what slavery is not an evil, but a good—